

1552

ALARUM TO THE PEOPLE OF GREAT-BRITAIN, AND IRELAND:

IN ANSWER TO A LATE
PROPOSAL for Uniting these Kingdoms.

SHEWING,

The fatal Consequences of such an UNION, to
the Constitution, Laws, Trade, and Manufactures
of both Kingdoms; how destructive to the
Protestant Religion established in IRELAND, and
how little beneficial to ENGLAND.

Particularly offered to the CONSIDERATION of the
PARLIAMENT now Sitting in IRELAND.

BY N. ARCHDALL, Esq;

DUBLIN:

Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER, in Essex Street.
MDCCL.

M A J A L

TO THE

P E O P L E

OF

G R A T I A - B R I T A I N

M A Y D :



IN ANSWER TO A STATE

PROPOSAL FOR UNITING THE BRITISH KINGDOMS.

BY JAMES SWINNERTON

The first Consideration of going to UNION is
the Consideration of Trade and Manufactures
of both Kingdoms; now defective to the
Political Religion established in Ireland, and
now this prevalent in England.

Politically defective to the Consideration of the
PARLIAMENT now seated in AUSTRIA

BY N. ARCHDALE, M.P.

DUBLIN:

Printed by George Fawcett, in the Street
MDCCCLX.

THE
Editor's Advertisement.

THE following ANSWER was written immediately after the publication of a Pamphlet for uniting *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, and would have been published sooner, had it not been for the Author's long Sickness and Confinement: But, as he is lately recovered, by the great Care of that excellent Gentleman, Dr. *Ward*, he hath been able to finish this Pamphlet, which he was pleased to give me in *London*, and which I hope, will be of infinite Use at this critical Juncture to both Nations.

LONDON, Oct. 6, 1751.

ANT

Editor's Advertisement

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London, Oct. 21. 1751.

S. A.

THE
ALARM

AN

A L A R U M
TO THE
P E O P L E, &c.

GREAT BRITAIN may be consider'd as the Mother of many Children, and all her Colonies settled in *America*, or elsewhere, as so many Daughters, to whom she has given Portions, and put in a Way to shift for themselves; yet subject to the same Laws by which her own Family is govern'd. But *Ireland* should be looked upon rather as a Sister, whom *England* has taken under her Protection, on Condition she complies with the Economy of the Family; yet with such Distinction and Diference, as to shew they were originally upon an Equality.

Ireland was, some Ages ago, an independent Kingdom, subject to its own Princes, and govern'd by its own Laws; tho' now it is become * (as some suppose) a subordinate Kingdom, yet is still a Kingdom, and still govern'd by its own Laws made in full Parliament, and therefore ought not to be deemed, or treated as a Branch or Colony of another Kingdom.

It is allow'd, that the Crown of *England* has a just and rightful Claim to *Ireland*. This Claim is derived from, and confirmed by, the voluntary Submissions and repeated Oaths of Allegiance of the *Irish* Nobility and Gentry, to the Kings of *England*, for many Ages, recogniz'd by several Statutes and Acts of Parliament, and by Prescription of more than five

* See the Cork Surgeon's Letters on that Subject.

five hundred Years; therefore *Ireland*, in this Light, must be consider'd as a Part of *England*, and so far subject to it: Yet the *English* Monarchs have always thought it consistent with the Interest of their *British* Subjects, and with their own Dignity, to treat *Ireland* as a separate and distinct Kingdom. In consequence of which, the King's Person is represented there by his Viceroy, or Lord Lieutenant, attended by his Guards, and other *Regalia*, in the same Manner his Majesty would be, w^{as} he personally present. There are likewise Two Houses of Parliament, the Lords, and Commons, who have full Power to enact Laws for the good Government of the Kingdom; subjected, nevertheless, (as in *England*) to the Controul of the Regal Authority. Many other Privileges and Immunities, especially that of taxing herself, hath *Ireland*, consider'd as a distinct People, which she hath enjoy'd without Impeachment, Time immemorial. The *British* Legislature never interfer'd in the interior Government of that Kingdom, nor attempted to alter or subvert the antient Laws and Customs to which the People had been always used; except when any of those Laws were found prejudicial to the Interests of true Religion, or real Welfare of either of the Kingdoms. Ever since the late REVOLUTION in Eighty-eight, the People of *Ireland* have consider'd themselves as a Free People, and think they ought to enjoy, and be protected in the Possession of their Rights, Liberties, and Properties, without Interruption; and suffered to improve their Lands and Manufactures to the best Advantage they can, without Molestation; for, from that Time, the happy Constitution of that Kingdom commenced.

In this Situation is that Kingdom under the Government of his present Majesty; neither have they any Thing to apprehend of worse Usage from any of his Family. Yet in the Midst of this imagin'd Felicity, the Devil, or his Agents, are raising a Storm, which, if not prevented in Time, will soon overcloud this fine Prospect, and throw that Kingdom into as bad a Confusion as it was in at the Time of the REVOLUTION. Then, indeed, the Papists had the upper-hand, and *Tyreconnel*, the Lieutenant, tyranniz'd over the Protestants with all the rigorous Zeal of a bigotted Catholick, authoriz'd by as bigotted a King; yet was the Storm, that threaten'd them with immediate Destruction, soon dispers'd by the Resolution of the *Irish* Protestants, and by the Bravery and Courage of the great King WILLIAM. But here is a Project started, which, should it take Effect, (which God forbid!) will ruin both Kingdom and People at once;

once; nay, what is more, will unpeople it, or leave it only such Inhabitants as have not Money enough to pay for their Passage out of it.

This, to some, may seem, at first Sight, a strange Assertion; yet I fancy they will be of the same Opinion before they are got half Way thro this short Tract. For, can they think otherwise, when they shall be told of a Scheme, the professed Design of which is, totally to subvert the Two Houses of Parliament in *Ireland*, or, which is of the same Import, to send some few of the Members of those Two Bodies over to *England* to represent the whole Nation in the *British* Parliament; that the Lands in *Ireland* shall be taxed at the same Rate as they are in *England*, at 2*s.* 3*s.* or 4*s.* in the Pound; that they shall be plagued with additional Taxes and Excise, when the present; are but barely sufficient to support its Establishment; that they must confine themselves to the Linen Manufacture only; that they must not spin a Thread of Woollen; that their Trade by Imports and Exports, little as it may be, shall be liable to the same Assessments and Impositions as they are in *England*; that all their ready Money shall be drained from them to support the Grandeur and increase the Opulence of *Great Britain*, and to defend her against her Enemies?

This is the Nature of the Scheme, and the Tendency of the *Proposal for uniting the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland*: A *Proposal*, so fraught with all Mischief, and so void of the least Shadow of Advantage to *Ireland*, that it's surprizing the Author of it should have the Vanity or Assurance to imagine, it could be relish'd or receiv'd by any Man of Sense in the Two Kingdoms. But as his fallacious Reasoning may make some Impression on weak Minds, who are apt to dwell on the Surface of Things, and have not the Capacity, or will not give themselves the Trouble to examine the Truth of an Argument; for their sakes, we will take this notable Scheme to Pieces, and shew the Core that lies hid under the Skin of so fair and promising an Outside.

The Plan of the Author's Scheme for *uniting the Two Kingdoms*, is contain'd under the following Heads; on which we shall make some general Remarks, and then attend him thro' the rest of his Discourse, and endeavour to convince him, and others of his Opinion, (if any such there be) that his *Proposal* is wild and impracticable, and that the Execution of it, (supposing it capable of being put into practice) instead of being a Benefit to *Ireland*, would be its utter Ruin.

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who is over to the algorithm now. Stop at last, you see no

The principal Heads of his Proposal are these :

1. That the Two Kingdoms should be united under the same King and the same Laws.
2. That they shall be represented by the same Parliament.
3. That they shall enjoy the same Privileges and Immunities.
4. That they shall be confined by the same Restrictions, Prohibitions, and Regulations in Trade.
5. That they shall have the same Alliances, the same Enemies.
6. That they shall pay an equal Proportion of Taxes, Customs, and Excise, both in Peace and War.
7. That in all Instances they may become one People in Affection, as well as Interest.

1. That the Two Kingdoms be united under the same King, and the same Laws. The first is granted: But I must affirm that it's impossible they can be govern'd by the same Laws, in all respects, as will appear by considering the different Constitutions of the Two Kingdoms. *Ireland* was once a Monarchy of itself, an independent Kingdom, was govern'd by its own Kings, and by Laws made by its own Representatives, suited to the Nature, Temper, and Customs of its Inhabitants: Which Laws and Customs having been in Use, Time immemorial, cannot be repeal'd, alter'd, or new model'd, without occasioning Seditions, Riots, and Tumults, if not a general Rebellion. And the Laws of *England* are so numerous and complicated, that it's impossible the *Irish* should be acquainted with the hundredth Part of them; how then is it possible they should ever obey, or be govern'd by them? Especially when we consider, that even in *England*, almost every County has Laws and Customs peculiar to itself, and different from the rest of the Kingdom.

2. That they shall be represented by the same Parliament. But how? *Ireland* will only have the *Rump* of her own true Parliament to represent her. Some few of the Members of either House, will be sent over with the weighty Concerns of the whole Kingdom in their Heads, which perhaps they will seldom or never have an Opportunity to bring upon the Tapis, in that august Assembly, where a Multitude of Affairs of the greatest Moment must be transacted, before it will come to their turn; when perhaps the Session will be drawing near a Conclusion; and then, when the Members are quite wearied with a long Attendance, the Business will be hurried over in a careless Manner, or put off to the next meeting

meeting of the Parliament, tho' what the *Irish* Members have to offer, be of the utmost Consequence to their native Country. At the next Meeting they may be serv'd in the same Manner; and so poor *Ireland* may for ever languish under Oppressions and Grievances, without Number and without Measure or Hopes of Redress. Thus those Noblemen and Gentlemen, who are sent over to the *British* Parliament, under the pompous Stile of the *Representatives of Ireland*, will find themselves of little more Consequence than so many Cyphers without a Figure set before them to indicate their Value; or perhaps become hiteling Slaves, to vote away the Liberties of *England*, together with those of their own Country.

3. That they shall *enjoy the same Privileges and Immunities*. The Privileges and Immunities of the *Irish* are peculiar to themselves, which they have *enjoy'd unmolested thro' a long Succession of Time*, and therefore will not easily give up or relinquish them; and of what Service those Privileges and Immunities can be to their Neighbours on the other Side of the Water, I cannot comprehend; nor can I see of what Use the Privileges and Immunities, *enjoy'd by an Englishman* in his own Country can be to an *Irishman* in his.

4. That they shall be *confined by the same Restrictions, Prohibitions, and Regulations in Trade*. If Trade should be put upon the same Footing in both Kingdoms, then the *Irish* will be upon an Equality with the *English* in regard to all Sorts of Manufactures; consequently, that the *Irish* will have the Liberty of making Woollens, an Indulgence which the *English*, I suppose, will never grant; and the *Irish* will never submit to the proposed Union, if they must be wholly excluded from it.

5. That they shall have *the same Alliance, the same Enemies*. Which they will always have, whether separate or united, so long as *Ireland* is under the Protection of the Crown of *England*, but no longer. For, as she is not able, by her own Strength, to defend herself against a powerful Invader, she must necessarily submit to him who has the strongest Arm, and able to protect her against all her Enemies.

6. That they shall *pay an equal Proportion of Taxes and Excise, both in Peace and War*. Why so? The Author gives us a most excellent Reason, p. 32, that thereby, Great Britain will be enabled to *pay a considerable Portion of the necessary annual Expences of the Government*. So that *Ireland* must not only provide for the Expences of her own Government, which

which is now become very great, and maintain her almost innumerable Poor, but likewise contribute her Supply to relieve the Exigencies of *Great Britain*. A very friendly and charitable Proposal! But, in my humble Opinion, the Establishment of each Kingdom, under those wise Regulations, by which the Government of each has been long, and still is, happily managed, is the best calculated for the Support of either in their distinct and separate Capacities.

7. *That in all Instances they may become one People in Affection, as well as Interest.* But this is in Speculation only, and will never be the Effects of the proposed Union; unless the *Irish*, after a long Tryal, shall by Experience be convinced, that their Interests have been equally consulted, as carefully preserv'd, and as firmly secur'd, as those of *Great Britain*. Which I apprehend will be far from being the Case; if this Union is to be form'd on the Plan of our Projector; of which we need no better Proof, nor stronger Arguments, than what he has himself furnish'd us with; as will be shewn in the Sequel.

The Author proceeds, and says, that notwithstanding the vast Inequality between England and Ireland, in respect of Wealth, Power, and Commerce, yet they may be joined by a Scale of Equivalents, as two Merchants of very unequal Property, and disproportion'd Debts, may enter into Partnership. This Comparison will not hold good: For, in Partnership of Profit and Loss in Trade, the Parties contracting, are under mutual Ties and Obligations to bind them to a strict Performance of Covenants; which if broke thro', the Party injur'd, knows he has an immediate Remedy at Law: But if this propos'd Union should take place, and afterwards the Articles of it should be cancell'd or infring'd by *England*, to whom must *Ireland* appeal or reply for Redress? Not to *England*, because she has too much Interest in the Controversy to judge uprightly and impartially; and it can hardly be expected she will condemn herself, tho' ever so much in the Wrong. It is then natural to suppose, that *Ireland* will, in her Distress, be forced to surrender herself to such a Power, as she imagines, will procure her the Relief she stands in need of.

As to what the Author observes, that a great Part of that Island lies uncultivated for want of Inhabitants, is certainly true; and it is likewise granted, that if foreign Protestants were encourag'd to come and inhabit those Districts of the Country, where there are few or no People resident, vast

Tracts

Tracts of Land in the Kingdom would be plough'd and cultivated, and the Markets would be supply'd with Corn of the native Growth; for it's well known, that *Dublin* only, pays 100,000*l.* a Year, for the Corn imported there from *England* and other Countries; which would be prevented, were there a sufficient Number of People to cultivate the Ground; but as there are not Hands enough both for Trade and Culture, the Farmers and many estated Gentlemen are forced to cover their Grounds with Sheep, Oxen, &c. Yet all this may be brought about without the least Assistance from an Union. Let us imitate the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, who receive with open Arms the Reformed who fly to them from the Persecutions in *France* and other Countries, and carry their Trades and their Industry along with them, and consequently increase the Opulence and Power of the Country they come to.

But, says this charitable, benevolent Author, *The Irish Natives, who are a great Majority of the present Inhabitants, are an idle, lazy Generation; so perversely, obstinately idle, that the Encouragements of an Union, and the Examples of Industry, among the Foreigners, would be lost upon them.* What Effects the Encouragements given by an Union might produce, I can't tell; but this I will venture to affirm, since I can speak it from my own Knowledge and Observation, that an Emulation to excel others in Arts and Sciences, produces as generous Fruits in the Mind of an *Irishman*, as it does in that of any other Person, let him be of what Country soever. To this generous Principle is owing the vast Improvement in their Manufacture of Linen for some few Years past. Stimulated with the Consideration of the great Wealth which this single Article of Linen carried to those Countries where it is generally manufactur'd, they gave themselves no Rest, 'till they brought the same Commodity to as great Perfection, as those that are most famous for the fineness of their Workmanship; and now, instead of wearing the Linen of other Countries, they are able to supply foreign Markets with the same Manufacture, and all the World is convinc'd, that they can equal, if not excel the most ingenious Artists among the foreign Weavers; and all this is owing to a Spirit of Emulation, even in the native *Irish*; and why they might not exert the same Spirit on seeing the Industry and Ingenuity of such Protestants as may be induced to settle among them, let this Projector give any tolerable Reason. Besides this particular Instance of their Industry, he should not forget their great Improvements in other Arts and Sciences,

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the Effects of Premiums, which are undeniable Proofs, that Example and Encouragement have a great Influence on their Industry.

Our Author, however, is so gracious as to acknowledge, that this Habit of Idleness, which he so freely charges on the Natives of *Ireland*, is not incurable. Now, if their Idleness is not incurable, I would fain know to what it is owing? Every Distemper has its Original from some Irregularity or other; but, take away the Cause, and the Effect will cease of course. It would therefore have been more generous in our Schemist, if he had propos'd a Method to employ these *idle* People, than to condemn them in a Lump, for a Crime which he does not know that they are voluntarily guilty of.

To what purpose he brings in the Example of the *Dutch*, I can't conceive. He says, *the Hollanders, oppress'd by the Spanish Tyranny, had little of that Spirit of Industry, which hath since made them the most powerful Republick in the World.* I should be glad to know what other People would be industrious, who daily held their Lives at the Will of a Tyrant, and were not sure they should eat the Bread which they work'd for. But when these *Hollanders* had thrown off the *Spanish Yoke*, they became not only an industrious People themselves, but gave all imaginable Encouragement to Foreigners to settle amongst them; by which Means they got acquainted with many Articles in Trade, of which they were before ignorant, whereby they were enabled to enlarge their Commerce, and gradually to rise to that Height of Power and Grandeur, of which the whole World is a Witness. Thus the *Irish*, by the Settlement of ingenious and industrious Foreigners among them, will grow emulous of those Arts which procure the Professors of them Wealth and Honour; besides which, they will have the Satisfaction to see their Commerce enlarged, their Exports increase, and consequently their Imports daily enriching the Kingdom.

In the Account he gives of the Manner of letting Farms in *Ireland*, he seems to state the Case a little unfairly. He says, *a Farmer takes 5 or 600 Acres, which being unable to stock himself, he lets some of them to poor Cottagers.* The Cottager usually pays 30 s. a Year for his *House of Clay*, with a *Garden*, and a little *Land to graze a Cow, or half a Dozen Sheep*; the Rent he pays in *Labour* at 5 d. or 6 d. a Day, while his only Security for the next Year's Possession, is not to improve his miserable Farm, or seem to grow rich in the Cleanliness or Cloathing

of his Family *. But, is not the same Method practised by the Landlords in *England*? And do the Cottagers there think themselves hardly dealt by, because they are obliged to pay their Rent in Labour, and receive the Overplus in Milk, Corn, and Money? So far from it, that they reckon themselves quite happy in those Circumstances, work with chearfulness, and are pleas'd, not to say proud, when they can bring their Families to Church of a Sunday, clad in the home-spun Manufactures of their own Hands. The Case of the Cottagers in *Ireland*, I take to be much the same; and a Landlord must be a grievous Oppressor indeed, who turns his Tenant out of his little Farm, for no other Reason, but because he sees him industrious, and bring up his Family in a decent Manner.

From this manner of acting, says our Author, there are, generally speaking, but two Ranks of People in *Ireland*, the very Rich and the very Poor. Sure there is in that Kingdom, as there ever was, and ever will be in every Nation upon Earth, a middling Sort of People, not exceeding Rich, and not very Poor; and he himself has named one who stands between the Landlord and the Cottager, namely, the Farmer. If he had look'd into Trade, he might have seen the same Gradations, such as the Journeyman, the Master, and the Merchant.

Our Projector goes on to enlarge his Scheme, and to shew the beneficial Effects, which he fancies will result from his proposed Union: *By which, says he, when the Number of Inhabitants is increased, the Landlord will not be under a Necessity of letting a greater Number of Acres than the Farmer is able to cultivate.* My Answer to this shall be contain'd in a Scheme, which I fancy will be as effectual for the Purpose as that of our Projector; and this it is: Since the Propagation and Security of the Protestant Religion, and the Extinction of Popery in *Ireland*, is the main Object of the Desire of every good Man, let a Protestant Yeomanry be established in that Kingdom; in order to which, let a Power be given to Papists to take longer Leafes, and allow them to pay a Fine of one Third Part of the improved Rent; but to lay no Restraint on this first Tenant in regard to a Conformity of Religion, but subject his next Heir to such a Conformity, with-

* Note, there is a great difference betwixt labouring Cottagers, who work hard for their Bread, and the *Terneybeg*, who is a kind of Land Jobber, that farmed large Parcells of Ground, and retailed them again to the Poor at the highest Rent they could get, and were great Oppressors: That Practice is now left off.

in one Year next after it shall come into his Possession (as the Gavel Laws now in Force in that Kingdom direct) which if he or she, to whom such Lease shall devolve, shall refuse to comply with, then let the next of Kin, being Protestant, or becoming such, take the whole Lease: By which Means, in a few Years, we shall find but very few, if any Papists in the whole Kingdom, I mean among the better Sort of Farmers; and when they are reformed, it's easy to imagine that the common People will soon follow their Example, who are generally fond of imitating their Betters right or wrong. Thus will Self-interest make Converts of those whom the strongest Arguments that could be brought from Scripture, Reason, or Religion could not persuade to alter their Opinion; and what the Clergy, with all the Powers of their sacred Eloquence (tho' it must be confessed they have exerted it but very sparingly on this Occasion) could not effectuate, Self-interest alone will accomplish.

In enumerating the Benefits of this Union, the Author adds, *When the poor Natives shall be restored to the natural Right of human Kind, a Property in their own Labour* (which by the Way they were never yet deprived of) *if there be not some physical Causes of Idleness in their Climate, they will surely become as Industrious as their Neighbours of Great Britain.* That there are no physical Causes of Idleness in the Climate, is manifest from this one Instance, *viz.* That since the Encouragement given to the Linen Manufacture, and other Branches of Trade, the Poor in general (where they have it in their power) are become as industrious as their Neighbours in *England*; and the vast Quantities of Linen exported Yearly, will always stand an unquestionable Proof of their Industry. And I fancy it will put the Wits of this sagacious Author upon the stretch, to convince any rational Man, that the *Irish* Poor will be employ'd more to their Advantage under his projected Union, than they now are in the several Branches of their respective Trades.

The Author is Right in judging, that it is proper to Encourage Foreigners, being Protestants, to settle in *Ireland*, by a general Naturalization, and that it would be a great Means of reducing the Popish Interest there. For, if upon a due Computation, there shall not be found People enough in the whole Kingdom to Stock more than two Provinces, which I am assured is very near the Truth, is it not apparent that it will be for the Benefit of the Publick in general, to have every Part and Corner of it occupied by People of Industry and good Morals? That this can be done without

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the Intervention of the proposed Union, is evident beyond Contradiction. The Parliament may pass a Bill for a general Naturalization of foreign Protestants, who, under proper Regulations and Encouragements, will readily embrace the Opportunity of enjoying Peace and Liberty, the Assurance of Protection from the Malice of their professed Enemies, and the Prospect of mending their own Fortunes by a Freedom of Trade in the various Branches of it. And the Publick would be so far from being injur'd by these New-comers, that we shall find them an additional Strength to the Kingdom, that they will increase the publick Revenue, and diffuse a Spirit of industry thro' the whole Nation.

Thus, adds the Author, *will they at once become the Disciples of the purest Church that professes the Doctrines of Christ, and Subjects of the best Constitution of Government, that ever blessed Mankind.* It is, no Doubt, the sincere Wish of every one, who has any Regard for the Name of Christ, and the Welfare of ignorant and deluded Souls, that the poor Natives of Ireland were instructed in the established Religion. To accomplish so desirable an End, there is one plain and easy Method, which is this: Let the Parliament pass an Act to Repeal that which united three or four large Parishes, which now yield the Incumbents yearly 5 or 600*l.* and let every Parish be put on its antient Footing, and, upon the Demise of the present Incumbent, let each of them be supplied by a pious, exemplary, sober Divine, who shall apply himself wholly to the Instruction of his Parishioners, to reform their Morals, convince them of their Errors, and lead them to the Knowledge of all saving Truths; that his Doctrine be exemplified in his own Life and Conversation; and that he be obliged to reside upon the Glebe of his own Living in the Country, and not be permitted to spend his Time and his Income in the City, or at Court, in a slavish Attendance on the Levees of the Great, in hawking for Preferments, while his own Flock, which ought to be as dear to him as his own Soul, is committed to the Care of an ignorant drunken Curate, who, instead of feeding them with the Bread of Life, the Knowledge of the Scriptures and true Religion, is himself an Example of the most stupid Ignorance, and abandon'd Morals.

The Author proceeds and says, *A great Objection against the Settlement of Foreigners in Ireland, is the Unhealthiness of the Climate, occasion'd by the Bogs.* But he might have mention'd another Objection much more forcible than this, namely, the not granting longer Leases; to which he might have

have added the Complaints of the People in regard to Tythes, both which Causes were assign'd for so many Landholders leaving the Northern Parts of *Ireland*, in the Years 1729, 1730, and 1731; from whence they transported themselves to *America*, where they set up the Linen Manufactures to the great Prejudice of their native Country, and by carrying great Numbers of working People along with them, obliged those who staid at Home to Stock their Lands with Cattle, and turn it from the Plough to graze Oxen, &c. or lie Waste; besides this, there were numberless Suits at Law commenced, for a Demand called *Tyth Agistment*, or *Tenancy Rent*, no less grievous, (especially in the escheated Counties of the Province of *Ulster*, where *Strafford's* Tything Table takes Place) the milch Cow there, pays Thirteen-pence Half-penny for her Year or half Year, which considering the Number of Inhabitants, and supposing every Family to have no more than five Cows, this upon a Medium, in the whole Province of *Ulster*, would amount to more Money yearly than *Tyth Agistment* (in Case of a right to it) would produce throughout the rest of the Kingdom; besides there are many other Articles of Tythes, called small Dues, which in all raise the Revenues of the Clergy there, greater than in any other Part of his Majesty's Dominions. Notwithstanding these large Tythes, yet about three or four Years ago, another Demand was set up in the County of *Down*, Part of the same Province, called Trades Money, by which all Journeymen Linen Weavers, and other Artificers and Day-Labourers, were to pay twelve Pence a piece to the Parish Minister; also another general Demand of four Pence a Family to the Parish Clerk, called Clerk's Dues. And these Demands were so rigorously exacted, that several Hundreds of poor People were prosecuted in the Spiritual Court, and excommunicated for Noncompliance; so that the Parliament, upon the Complaint of the People, no longer ago than the last Session, found themselves under a Necessity of stopping the Progress of such oppressive Proceedings, as likewise to prevent such kind of Prosecutions for the future. Accordingly they passed an Act for that purpose, and by a Clause took off the Sentence of Excommunication from the People. And also by another Clause enacted, That no Suit shall be commenced in the Spiritual Court for small Tythes; yet substituted other Methods for recovering those Dues or Tythes, vastly more Easy, and less Expensive both to the Clergy and Laity. I hope to be excused for mentioning

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these few Instances (as I could many others of different Kinds) but as they are Recent, may serve to satisfy the Author, that there are other Reasons, besides the Bogs, that may deter foreign Protestants from settling in *Ireland*, as likewise to shew the Necessity of having Parliaments in that Kingdom.

The Members of that useful Body, as they are generally Natives of the Country, must necessarily be best acquainted with the Affairs and Circumstances of their Constituents, and when a Distemper of any Kind, breaks out in the Body Politick, they can upon the Spot examine into the Nature of it, apply a speedy Remedy, and so prevent its spreading into a general Contagion. But if the People were obliged to travel to *London*, as they must do in case of the Extinction of Parliaments in *Ireland*, to get their Grievances redress'd; how many would rather patiently bear those Evils, than be at the vast Trouble and Expence of seeking Relief at so great a Distance, and perhaps after all, not be able to find it? This would give fine Opportunities to Oppressors, and Persons of wicked Principles, to commit the worst Outrages on innocent and unwary People. This is one of the good Effects that will be produced by extinguishing Parliaments in *Ireland*, or, which is the same Thing, by sending a few of its Members to *England*, according to our Author's Proposal.

Another popular Objection against the Union, says the Author, is, that *Ireland* would then rival Great Britain in her most valuable Branches of Trade. The most valuable Branch of the English Trade, is her Woollen Manufactures. But that *Ireland* should rival her in this Point is impossible; for this Reason; that tho' there are more Lands in *Ireland* under Sheep than there ought to be; yet if we compare the Quantity and Quality of the Wool produc'd in *Ireland*, with the Quantity and Quality of that which grows in *England*, we shall not find the least Grounds for a Rivalship; since the Wool of English Growth, exceeds, by ten Times the Quantity, that is produc'd in *Ireland*; and the Wool of the latter is naturally so coarse, that it is only fit to be work'd up in Cloths and Stuffs of the lowest Denomination, or Home-Consumption. Besides, *England* abounds with Hands to manufacture it; *Ireland* has neither Hands nor Skill. Had *Ireland* indeed a free Trade, she might in Time, as at present circumstanced, give *England* reason to be jealous of her. But should the proposed Union take place, *Ireland* will be so far from rivalling Great Britain in this or any other

Branch of Trade, that she will scarce have any to carry on. For what Man of Sense will run the Hazard of the Seas, in sending his Merchandise abroad, when he knows the Profits of his Returns shall be eat up in Taxes and Imposts; not for the Benefit or Support of his own Country, but for easing the Burdens, and aggrandizing the Honour of *Great Britain*?

The Author having said, that it was but of little Consequence to the Whole, whether the Woollen Trade continued in *England*, or travelled to *Ireland*, when united to *Great Britain*, adds, *That this Language will be disagreeable to the common People of England*. But why to them more than to the *Irish*? *Ireland* is principally concerned. The Proposer's Scheme is calculated for the Meridian of *England*; 'tis she only will reap any Benefit from it; but *Ireland* utterly undone.

Our Design, adds he, *is the Publick Good, and mutual Advantage of both Kingdoms*. If this be true, then must I affirm that *Ireland* is no Part of the PUBLICK: For I am very positive, that he has advanced nothing hitherto, that has the least Shadow of Advantage to that Kingdom; but on the contrary, that his whole Scheme has a manifest Tendency to its utter Ruin and Destruction; altogether partial and bias'd to the Interest of *England*. If such an Event should ever happen, as an Union of the Two Kingdoms, it is hoped more solid Reasons will be given, and a better Provision made for the Happiness and Welfare of *Ireland*, than this pragmatical Schemist has yet offer'd. 'Tis an Affair of the utmost Consequence, and therefore not to be attempted without the conjoined Wisdom of both Nations, lest by rashly undertaking a Matter of so great Moment, Jealousies should be raised, and Animosities ensue, which are much more easily prevented than cured. For it's natural for People to be jealous of any seeming Invasion of their Liberties and Properties, or of any Change in their Affairs, which they apprehend will be to their Disadvantage. *England* herself furnishes us with Examples enough of this Sort; where we frequently see one Town jealous of the thriving Condition of another, even in the same County: What then must be the Consequence, when a whole People shall suspect there is a Design to remove their Trade from them, or to cramp it in such a manner, that it will not afford them that comfortable Subsistence it has always done?

But to gild the bitter Pill, and make it go down the glibber, he adds, *the People need not be alarmed*. He means the People

People of *England*, as he farther explains himself in the same Paragraph, for he says, *Whatever Trade Ireland shall gain by an Union, will not be gained from Great Britain.* I verily believe him; for *Great Britain* will take such particular Care of her own Interests, that if *Ireland* expects any great Advantage from this strange Union, she must go farther a Field for it, and *seek it in other Countries, among her Rivals in Trade, or her natural Enemies*, as our Author very justly observes, and proves by undenial Arguments and Instances.

In the next Paragraph he illustrates the same Argument, and shews, by the Proportion of Trade carried on by both Nations, how little *Ireland* would gain by the Union, and how much *Great Britain*. *Let us then compare*, says he, *the great additional Duties which Ireland must pay for the Liberty of Trade, and it will clearly appear, how considerably Great Britain must gain by this dreaded Article of the Union.* The *Irish*, to be sure, are mightily oblig'd to him for this Discovery, and 'tis hoped will be more strictly on their Guard, if ever the Union of the Two Kingdoms should be really brought in Agitation. However, had our Author acted impartially, as he ought to have done in this Affair, which equally concerns both Kingdoms, he would have shewn how far the Ballance of Trade operates at present in Favour of *England*. Had he done this, it would surprize one to think how *Ireland* has held out so long under such manifest Disadvantages; but this Union would absolutely complete her Misery.

In the next Paragraph our Author seems a little more complaisant, and very generously advises *Great Britain*, in *Case she cannot supply all the foreign Markets with Woollen Goods, to permit Ireland to take some Share of it.* This would be very kind to be sure; but lest such a Condescension should seem too favourable for *Ireland*, he is so good as to assure us, that that Kingdom would be but very little the better for it, and that *Great Britain*, in the End, would be the sole Gainer. His Words are these: *The Irish would, in Truth, only become her Factors, since all their Wealth, after a little Circulation at Home, would certainly fix at last in Great Britain.* And does not the Wealth of *Ireland*, even now, in a manner, fix in *England*? How miserable then will her Condition be, when she comes to lose her Parliaments, and has no Court for the Nobility and Gentry to resort to? For, when the whole Business of the Nation is to be transacted at *London*, and *St. James's* shall be the Polar Star, by which all who seek for

Honours, Places and Preferments, will direct their Courses, who will dream away his Time in *Ireland*, where the highest Honour he can expect to arrive at, is to be made a Constable or an Exciseman?

Ireland has always had the Privilege of being taxed by her own Parliaments; and 'tis most reasonable and just she should be so; because they only can be proper Judges, where to lay the Burden with the greatest Equality; they only can tell what are the proper Subjects of Taxation; they are the dernier Resort of the People for the Redress of their Grievances; 'tis from them that Commerce receives Life and Vigour, Trade flourishes, Manufactures encouraged, and the publick Credit supported: But what will become of all these Blessings when Parliaments are abrogated, and no Asylum can be found for the Distressed and Oppressed, at least none from which there is any probability of Relief? O wretched *Ireland*! Miserable beyond Description will thy Condition be, should this ominous Union ever take Place.

Speaking of the Advantages the *French* have above the *Irish* in the Cloth Trade, he says, *It would, however, greatly distress them, were the Irish allowed to manufacture their own Wool, since it would effectually stop that unhappy Practice of running it.* But who are the People guilty of this illegal Practice? The Author and 'half the World beside, suppose the *Irish* to be the only Runners, at least of their own Wool. But this is far wide of the Truth; for I will venture to affirm, because I know it to be Fact, that to one Packs of Wool run by the *Irish*, there are ten Packs bought up in *Ireland* by the *English* to be sent to *France*. Now if the *Irish* were permitted to manufacture their own Wool, it would not only employ their own Poor in the Provinces of *Connaught* and *Munster*, where the Linen Trade is not established; but would put an effectual Stop to the clandestine Trade of running it; neither would the *English* be in the least hurt by it; because the *Irish*, in working up their own Wool, would make such Cloths and Stuffs only, as are not wrought in *England*; the *French*, for want of the *Irish* Wool, would be prodigiously at a Loss, and not be able to supply the Markets, which by this Means would be well furnished by the *Irish* themselves, to the infinite Advantage of their native Country, and without the least Prejudice to *England*, but on the contrary will be of great Advantage to it.

But these Sentiments are not merely the Speculations of an *Irishman*, who wishes Success and Prosperity to his own Country; for the most impartial, honest, and discerning Men

Men in *England*, are of the same Opinion, however prejudic'd by popular Clamour to oppose it ; they know, that by giving Liberty to the *Irish* to manufacture their own Wool, will be the sure and certain Means, effectually to prevent other Nations from carrying on that Branch of Trade ; and that all Cloths, Stuffs, &c. or the far greatest Part of them which are made in *Ireland*, would be brought to *England* directly, to be by *English* Merchants exported to foreign Countries. This might very easily be brought to bear without the Intervention of the proposed Union. The Heads of both Kingdoms, in their present separate Situation, if they would be hearty and unanimously dispos'd, might soon concur in such salutary Measures, wherein the Interest of both Kingdoms might be consulted, settled and adjusted to their mutual Satisfaction, and prevented from jarring or interfering one with another. But 'till that happy Period shall arrive, when the leading Men in *England* shall become sensible of the Necessity of enlarging the Trade of *Ireland*, the *Irish* can't be blam'd for pursuing the Measures they now do, not asking any Favours, and to leave the Issue to Time and Providence to convince the *English* Manufacturers of their present erroneous Management.

The Author goes on, and says, *When Ireland shall know her true Interest, she will not employ her People in the Woollen Trade, beyond her Home Consumption, nor suffer such extended Tracts of her own Land to lie uncultivated in Sheep-walks. She will rather improve and extend her Linen Trade, as far more profitable.* That large Tracts of her best Land lie uncultivated in Sheep-walks, cannot be help'd, 'till the Kingdom is better peopled ; but to affirm, that "*when Ireland knows her true Interest, she will not employ her People in the Woollen Trade, beyond her own Consumption,*" is a false Assertion : For, this is the very Thing she wants, namely, an Indulgence in some particular Branch of the Woollen Manufacture, whereby all her People would be employ'd, her Lands cultivated, her Trade extended, and the Kingdom enriched. But this is not the Point our Author aims at by his proposed Union ; for his only Reason for desiring to see *Ireland* in a flourishing Condition is, that she may the better help *Great Britain* to pay her Taxes. Very Generous, truly ! for as to any real Advantage accruing to *Ireland* from this Union, 'tis Madness to suppose it ; for her Trade will become rather worse than better, as her Home Consumption must be dwindled in a manner to nothing, when the best Part of the People shall have left the Kingdom, which will

be the Case, if the Parliament, or a select Number of them, be remov'd to *Westminster*.

But lest we should misapprehend the Author's true and real Meaning, or be induc'd to think from any Thing he had before said, that he has some Good in Reserve for *Ireland*, in the next Paragraph he opens himself so clearly and expressively, that it's impossible to misunderstand him; and as it contains the whole Force of his Reasoning hitherto, we shall, for the Satisfaction of the Reader, transcribe it *verbatim*.

Yet in whatever Degree, or in whatever Manner Ireland shall increase her Wealth, we shall find a large Proportion of it centring in Great Britain. The List of her Absentees is already very numerous. The Sums expended by her People of Business, or her People of Idleness, and by the Youth for Education, are considerable. But if we suppose the Lords and Commons, chosen to be her Representatives in Parliament, residing here, perhaps the whole Year, certainly during the Sessions, with their Wives, Children, and Domesticks; if we compute the Numbers, whom Business and whom Pleasure (as they will have no Court or Parliament at Dublin) will bring over hither, we shall be convinced how large a Part of the Treasures of that Kingdom will annually come hither, without any Possibility of returning. Even the Taxes, to be remitted hither, will make no inconsiderable Addition to the amount.

Now, had the Author undertook the other Side of the Question, and made it his chief Point to shew the Mischiefs and Inconveniencies that must necessarily attend the Execution of his Scheme, what stronger Arguments, what apter Instances could he offer to convince us of the Impracticability of it? Does he believe, that any *Irishman* in his right Senses, who has the least Grain of Patriotism in his Soul, or the minutest Spark of Love for his Country glowing in his Breast, would tamely submit to such oppressive Terms, or consent that his native Country, a free and independent Kingdom, which for so many Ages has boasted the glorious Privilege of chusing her own Parliaments, and making her own Laws, should be despoil'd of these, and many other valuable Privileges, without any Equivalent pretended to be given in lieu of them? and all this merely to enrich and aggrandize another Kingdom? No! If the *Irish* can digest such glaring Impositions as these, they ought to be chronicled for Fools, or the basest Betrayers of their Country.

He says, *the List of Absentees is already very numerous*. If so, how numerous would it be, if his darling Scheme, the *Union*, should take Effect? In that Case, may I not venture

ture to prognosticate, that Three-fourths of the whole Kingdom will transmigrate either to *Old* or *New England*! So that *Great Britain*, instead of being eased in her Taxes, or any ways benefited by the projected Union, will bring an old House over her Head, and perhaps be obliged to maintain Half a Million of Poor more than she has already. For, when the Landlords, Manufacturers, and Merchants have forsook the Kingdom, as they certainly will when they have no Parliament to protect them in their Rights and Privileges, can it be imagin'd that their Dependents will stay behind? No, certainly; what should they stay for? unless it were to suffer all the Extremities of Want and Misery; for nothing else could they expect, when all their usual Supports are taken from them.

But to proceed with our Author, who says, *In what proportion Ireland may be supposed capable of paying her Share of the common Taxes, must be left to the Wisdom and Integrity of the Persons, whom his Majesty shall please to appoint in each Kingdom, to make a fair and equitable Calculation.* Very well! But yet methinks I should be glad to be inform'd, which Way the *Irish* Gentlemen and Traders can be supposed to pay new Taxes, when all their Income is to be spent in living in *England*? Can the Author think of no better Method of supporting the Trade and Manufactures of *Ireland*, than by pointing out and recommending the readiest Way to ruin them? For, if he takes away the People, what will become of Trade? And if there be no Trade, how will the Taxes be raised? And if there be no Taxes rais'd, I shall leave it to his wise Consideration, which Way *Great Britain* will be benefited by his wonderful Project?

The Proportion of Taxes is to be left, he says, *to the Wisdom and Integrity of the Persons to be chosen for that Purpose.* *Wisdom* and *Integrity* are the brightest Virtues that adorn Human Nature. But where shall we find them uniting their splendid and invigorating Rays in one Person? Happy is the Man who has one of them in Perfection! But to be possess'd of Both! would be a Phænomenon of greater Curiosity than any of the rarest Productions of Nature, especially in this Age of general Corruption; *Ireland* therefore has but small Hopes of being served by Men of this Character, especially on so nice and critical an Occasion, wherein her future Felicity is so nearly concern'd. And so long as she sees Corruption so notoriously prevalent among the highest, as well as the lowest Officers of her Sister's Family, she is under dreadful Apprehensions, lest she should be serv'd by some of the

the *worst* of her Servants, and not the *best*, because they are too few to be spared.

Thus, adds he, Great Britain will be greatly relieved under the Weight and Pressure of her Taxes. She may be enabled to support another War, when the Ambition and Injustice of her Neighbours shall make it necessary. Very friendly indeed! So poor Ireland must be impoverish'd to maintain a War whenever Great Britain shall think fit to quarrel with her Neighbours. And this, says he, by way of Triumph, is one of the first good Effects of an Union. Indeed! well, if all the rest should prove as good as this, Ireland shall erect a Monument of Parian Marble, to commemorate the superlative Talents of our Author, to whose great Genius we are indebted for the Invention of a Project, that will ease the poor Irish at once both of their Labour and their Money, the two greatest Curses with which Heaven has afflicted Mankind.

Other Reasons, adds he, may be given, to convince us how advantageous an Union will be to Great Britain. I don't in the least doubt it; yet give me Leave to say, that Ireland can produce a thousand better Arguments against it, than any yet he has offer'd for it; tho' this is not a proper Time nor Place to propose them.

But lest Great Britain should not be in a Humour to take Ireland into so close a Conjunction, he is pleas'd to set her off to the best Advantage he can, and shews how able she is to stand upon her own Legs without the Help of Crutches. The Irish, says he, by a late Spirit of Improvement, and an Emulation of Industry, &c. are increasing the Wealth of the Nation. Their Progress is indeed slow, but they are in the right Road. If they are in the right Way (tho' their Progress be but slow) it will be their Wisdom to keep on in the same Path; but the most egregious Folly to put themselves out of it, or to run giddily into chimerical Projects, which will bring on them their own Destruction.

But tho' he commends their Industry, yet he seems not a little fearful, that this Success of theirs, may make them too proud to accept the Blessings of his proposed Union. But let me tell him, that before he had upbraided the Irish with *Insolence* in refusing the Union, he should have shewn that People the Advantages that would accrue to them from it; nor ought he to insinuate that the English will be guilty of the monstrous Injustice of forcing it upon them, contrary to their own Inclinations and Consent; and I heartily join with him in his Prayer, *That the good Providence of God,*

God, which watches over the Happiness of these Nations, will forgive a Thought of it!

Hitherto our Author has been expatiating very largely on the Advantages which *England* will reap from this blessed Union. But lest we should think he has wholly forgot *Ireland* all this while, he proceeds now to set forth the Advantages the *Irish* may procure themselves from this happy Coalition.

Here in a very rhetorical Manner, he enumerates the many and glorious Blessings which the *Irish* may promise themselves by an Union. But as we have already shewn, that most of the wonderful Blessings he here recites, would prove the greatest Curses that can befall that Nation, and the rest of them merely visionary, we shall only give a few Remarks here upon two or three of them.

Let them see, says he, their Ports opened to the Trade of the World, and their Ships going abroad with their own Manufactures, and returning with the Blessings, which Providence hath divided to different Countries, as if with Design to promote an universal Commerce of good Offices among Mankind. But to what Purpose will she open her Ports to send abroad Commodities, when she has no People left to manufacture any, or to consume the Goods imported from other Countries? For Trade is supported as much by Imports as Exports; and this is properly call'd Commerce.

Another of the glorious Blessings of his Union he thus bravely sets off: *If Ambition have any Effect upon them, let them seize this Opportunity of entering into the Affairs of Europe; of having an honourable Share in determining the Fate of other Nations, and fixing their own for ever.* But if the whole Body of Peers and Commoners of *Ireland*, in their parliamentary Capacity, were allowed to sit in the Parliament at *Westminster*, it is a Doubt with me, whether they would have the Turn of the Scale in determining Matters relative to their own Kingdom; of what Weight then their Voices would be in determining the Fate of other Nations, let this sagacious Schemist himself judge. But what a sorry Figure will the *Irish* make in that august Assembly, when perhaps only thirty or forty of the weakest and most corrupt of their Nation are sent to be the Representatives of the whole Kingdom? Can it be expected that the *Irish* Members will have a greater Weight in the Debates and Proceedings of that House than the *Scots*? And what mighty Advantages does *Scotland* reap from the Honour of being represented in the *British*

British Parliament? Do her Members obtain more than the Usual in every Session?

At present Ireland, says our Author, *bath no Character, not even a Name in the Affairs of Europe.* *Ireland*, if her Natives would stay at Home, improve their Lands, encourage Manufactures, live in Amity with one another, serve the Kingdom honestly, and bring those who have the executive Power in their Hands, and those who are entrusted with the under Administration of Affairs to a strict and just Account in Parliament; and not betray their Country and evade the Laws of the Land for private and lucrative Views; would encourage the Trade as it now stands throughout the Kingdom; would boldly and honestly maintain the Establishments, prevent any illegal Encroachments, and redress all Grievances and Impositions on the Kingdom by crafty and corrupt Ministers, and call them to a strict Account for every Misapplication of the Publick Money, and for abusing his most Gracious Majesty's Confidence: I say, if all this was done, that Kingdom need not envy the Regalia and Pomp of greater Slaves than themselves, and will never have reason to doubt the Protection of *Great Britain*; for *England* gets more by *Ireland* than by any one Country in the World besides. If *Ireland* therefore will but steadily and perseveringly pursue her own Interest, even under all her present Disadvantages, she will never fall a Prey to the first Invader, as this Author foolishly and wickedly suggests, nor ever want a powerful Master and Protector in *Great Britain*.

He goes on: *Her little Regalia, her Parliaments and their Debates are confined within her own Kingdom.* And may they ever be so! For whenever she parts with them, either willingly or forcibly, she may reckon that the full Period of her Happiness and Prosperity.

Our Author says, *When Ireland considers her own Poverty, she must naturally be alarmed at the Names of Taxes, Customs, and Excise.* Undoubtedly she will, and with Reason enough. Is she not at this Time burden'd beyond Measure? Is there any People in the World besides the *Irish* that pay Customs for the Commodities of their own Manufacture, and the Growth of their own Country, upon Exportation? In *England* there is a Bounty allow'd upon the Export of Corn; *Ireland* might have had the same Privilege, but the violence of Party in Queen Anne's Reign lost that Bill; and it's now the Misfortune of *Ireland* alone to be taxed for the Beef, Pork, Butter, Hides, Tallow, &c. which she sends abroad.

But

But it seems this is not enough; for if this Union should take Place, our Author assures us she shall be obliged to pay all Duties of Import and Export equally with *Great Britain*, yet in Proportion to her *Degree of Trade*. This implies, that her Trade must be limited for ever, yet she must give up all the Privileges of a Free Kingdom!

To take off the Terror, which the Prospect of new Duties to be laid on their Trade, might create in the Minds of the People, he says, *From hence it is manifest, that the Irish will have it in their Power, in some Measure, to fix the gross Sum of their Duties of Importation.* But how would so inconsiderable a Body, as their Representatives in the *British Parliament* would be, have the Power to fix any Thing in that Assembly? Must not every Thing of this Kind be left to the *British Parliament* in general? And how few are there of that great Body, that are acquainted with the Circumstances of *Ireland*, or care one Farthing what becomes of its most important Interests? Have we not a recent Instance of this? For no longer ago than the last Session of Parliament, three or four *Scots* Members so far prevail'd, as to get an Act passed to prohibit the Manufacture of Sailcloth in *Ireland*, which, before, the *Irish* had a Right to, and were encouraged in?

Among other Benefits accruing to the *Irish* from this wonderful Project of his, the Author says, *Their Lands will soon be better employ'd than in grazing Cattle for foreign Exportation.* But does not this Author know, or does he purpose-
ly evade it, that *Ireland* never had any Share in the Beef Trade, until *England*, by Act of Parliament, prohibited the Importation of live Cattle from *Ireland*? of which impolitick Step that Nation has repented long ago.

But since this Gentleman pretends to be so well acquainted with the Trade and Product of *Ireland*, it would be kind in him to tell us, what People must do with their Lands, if they don't stock them with Sheep or Oxen? It's certain there are not People enough to till the Grounds; and if this could be done, and all the Lands plough'd and sown, I would ask him, what he thinks would become of the superfluous Corn, if there was any? Are not Beef, Butter, Tallow, and Hides, the best Exports, (except Linen) that Country has? Do not these Articles, belonging to their Cattle, support, in a great Measure, the Revenues of the Crown in that Kingdom? And is there any Country under Heaven (as I have before observ'd) that pays Duties for the Export of its own natural Produce, *Ireland* excepted? No!

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I believe not. Yet *Ireland* pays Quit and Crown Rents ; besides which, all its Produce (Linen Cloth excepted) is taxed upon Exportation. Whoever therefore considers these Things impartially, and knows any thing of that Country, must acknowledge that it now pays, in different Shapes, a most grievous and burdensome Land Tax.

As to the Importation of Wines from *France*, and sending Cash instead of the Superfluities of the Country, for Claret, which our Author charges as a heavy Crime upon the *Irish*, that is the Fault of the Merchant, and may and ought to be prevented by a Law. But which Way it can hurt Men's Morals, if moderately used, is to me a Mystery. However, it's observable, that those who *preach* most, and are loudest in their Clamours against it, are generally they who make the most Use of it ; and I never heard any of them complain of the largeness of the Bottle.

Let us follow our Author to another Article, namely, *That the Land Tax, the most formidable of all others, will be laid according to the present Valuation of Land.* But, pray, who are to value those Lands that are not upon Lease ? Is this to be done by Commissioners from *England* ? If so, I am afraid they will be found very incompetent Judges of the Value of Lands in *Ireland*. And if it should be done by Commissioners appointed by the *Irish*, I no less apprehend Inequality and Partiality in laying the Tax, either from Self-Interest, Favour, or Affection. And whatever Injustice or Imposition any one suffers in this Taxation, he must arm himself with Patience to bear it, for he will have no Redrefs, as there will be no Parliament to hear his Complaint.

Consequently, says our Author, *the raised Rents which may be justly expected from an Union, will never be liable to be taxed.* But is it reasonable that the Tax should fall upon those Landlords, who, to encourage a good Protestant Yeomanry, have let their Lands cheap ? Will not such a Proceeding make the Lands more beneficial to the Tenant than to his Landlord ? which indeed is but too often the Case. Since therefore this Misfortune will certainly befall the Landlord, whenever there shall be a Land Tax in *Ireland*, if therefore it should so happen, to render it more equitable, it ought to be laid on such Lands as shall be thereafter purchased ; then the Purchaser will know what he is about, and be able to calculate the real Value of his Purchase. But a Land Tax would, to those who have already purchased,

(29)

chased, be unjust to the last Degree ; it would be the depriving a Man of his Right.

To remedy this Evil, the Author proposes that *the Crown Rents and Quit Rents, which these Estates already pay, and which are in Truth a Land Tax, altho' under another Name, may be remitted.* But such a *Distress as this is inconsiderable.* It is mention'd only to shew, with how much *Equity* this great Scheme might be executed. But he is mistaken ; the Crown and Quit Rents are very considerable, and produce a great Revenue. For the far greatest Part of the Lands in *Ireland* (and the forfeited Estates in particular) pay *Three Pence* an Acre, Rough and Smooth, Quit Rents ; and the Crown Lands, *Two Pence Half-penny* an Acre ; and there are many mountainous and boggy Grounds, that at this Day don't yield more to the Landlord than pays the Quit and Crown Rent.

In the next Place, with *all due Modesty* (he has shewn but very little yet) he tells us in what Manner he would have the *Irish* Lords brought into the *British* Parliament. *When the Numbers are fixed*, says he, *let them not be elected every Parliament, as the Peers of Scotland are; but let that Honour and Privilege be granted for Life to the Persons first chosen in their own Country.* *When any of them dies, let another be appointed in the same Manner.* Here, no Doubt, the Author had the Interest of *Ireland* most egregiously at Heart. But why must the Commoners be excluded from the same Honour and Privilege of being Members for Life ? This would save those Gentlemen a vast deal of Trouble and Expence in visiting their Country once in seven Years ; besides the Money they must spend at their Elections. But with regard to the Peers, I would ask him, whether he don't believe, that such a Regulation would not be highly injurious to the rest of the Nobility of *Ireland*, whose Birth and Merit entitle them to the same Honour, yet are hereby deprived of almost the very Hopes and Expectations of ever enjoying it ? I would likewise ask him, whether a Dependence on the Votes of their Country (which they must have in Case of frequent Elections) is not a more likely Method of keeping them to their Duty, and of making them regard the Interest of their Country, than by chusing them for Life ? For, when they find themselves independent of their Country, is it not natural to suppose, that they will be biased by Self-Interest ? And if *England* should hereafter be so unhappy as to have a corrupt and wicked Ministry, may not those *Irish* Lords of Parliament join with them, and be influenced

influenced and directed to assist them in carrying on their pernicious and wicked Schemes?

Moreover, says he, *they will bring with them such unbias'd, such uninfluenc'd Sentiments, as are worthy of a British Parliament.* How is he assured of that? What Instances can he bring of such a brave uncorrupted Patriotism in his own Country? Let *England* set us a few good Examples, and then possibly the *Irish* may give some Attention to her eloquent Advocate; but 'till then, the *Irish* must believe they are compounded of the same Stuff with the *English*, and that they are no more Proof against Bribery and Corruption than ~~their~~ Neighbours.

But notwithstanding this known Propensity in Human Nature to be govern'd by Self-Interest, he makes no Doubt but the *Irish* Peers *will bring with them no other Sentiments of Loyalty and Liberty, than those upon which a limited Monarchy is founded.* But who will trust them? Have they any greater Reason to be virtuous than the *English*? Are they arrived at so great a perfection of Integrity, as to be above all Temptations? Are they such Heroes in Patriotism, that all the Preferments which a corrupted Administration has to bestow, shall never incline them to vote against the true Interest of their Country? If there is such a Man among us, let him be known, that we may do him the Honour due to his exalted Worth; but—*Rara Avis*—Besides, is it reasonable that the Peers of *Ireland* should sit in a *British Parliament*, and vote in common, upon Affairs relative wholly to *England*, where they have no Property or natural Interest?

The Author continues his Encomium on the *Irish* Peers, and says, *Their Loyalty to their Prince, and their Love of their Country are yet untainted with that unhappy Distinction between Court and Country.* It is granted that they are so; why then will he throw Temptations in their Way to taint their Integrity? For if their Virtue should be put to such a Proof, who will answer for the Consequence? The *Roman* Spirit has been long since extinguished, and I am not Sanguine enough to expect to see it reviv'd in my Countrymen. If therefore you will have our *Irish* Nobility persevere in their Integrity, make no Alteration in their present System of Government. It is very true, that their Loyalty and their Patriotism are at present untainted; and it is their Interest to support their King, and His to maintain them in their Rights, and not to suffer that Kingdom to be destroyed by any Power whatsoever.

As to his fine Panegyric on the Ministry, we can only recommend him to those Gentlemen to reward him suitably to his Merits, if he is not already in their Pay. To his Masters therefore we shall leave him, and only here observe, That every Man of Sense knows, and I have not the least Doubt but the King himself knows, that He has not better, more loving, or loyal Subjects in the whole World than the Protestants of *Ireland*. And I will farther affirm, that as long as they shall continue to hold their own Parliaments, and tax themselves, they will do every Thing in their Power to maintain and support Him, his Family, and Government.

That there is no Doubt to be made of the Loyalty and Affection of the *Irish* Protestants to his present Majesty, they gave the strongest Proof in the last Rebellion, when the whole Kingdom, as it were, like one Man, arm'd in Defence of their King and Country. Every Province and County in the whole Kingdom array'd themselves, were regimented and disciplin'd, to appear in Arms against their common Enemy the Pretender, and unanimously resolv'd to lay down their Lives, rather than submit to a foreign Yoke. For the Truth of this I can safely appeal to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of *Chesterfield*, then Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, by whose prudent Management, the very Papists in that Kingdom were kept steady in the Interest of their King and Country ; and it is farther observable, and at that Time was generally remark'd, that his Lordship manag'd the known turbulent and restless Disposition of that disaffected Party, with such Dexterity, that no Man, in *England* or *Ireland*, could have done besides himself ; so that during the whole Time of that Rebellion, none of them made the least Motion that tended to an Insurrection.

The People of *Ireland* are sensible they have the same King, and that their Religion is the same as established in *England*. The two Kingdoms are so connected, both in Interest and Religion, since the late happy REVOLUTION, that they are already united ; one Kingdom cannot fall, but the other must soon follow it ; and if such a Change, as is propos'd, was to be made in the System of the *Irish* Government, it's more than probable, that these new PATRIOTS our Author recommends, would soon fall in with, and so increase those Divisions, which he seems so greatly to deprecate.

The next Paragraph contains the keenest Satire, wrapp'd up in a Sugar-Plumb, that the Wit of Man could invent against

against the Bishops of *Ireland*, and seems to me a pretty strong Proof, that the Author's Design, thro' the Whole of his fine plausible Scheme, is a mere Banter and Ridicule on both Kingdoms.

In the first place he says, that *to their Wisdom* (meaning the Bishops of *Ireland*) *that Nation is in a great Measure indebted for all the salutary Laws made there*. Which is so notoriously untrue, that there is not a Man in that Kingdom, who is in the least conversant with publick Affairs, but can contradict and disprove him.

In speaking of the Hardships the Bishops would labour under, in undertaking Voyages and Journies, hazardous and fatiguing, every Session, he adds, *I doubt not, but in a just contempt of this World, they would gladly resign these troublesome Offices of Greatness, which their Obedience to the Laws alone could oblige them to accept*. With all Reverence to the Prelatical Order, for which no Man has a greater Veneration than myself, I would ask the present Set of *Irish* Prelates, to name one of their venerable Body, who would not run a much greater Hazard than a Voyage to *England*, to seek Preferment. Don't they take all the Liberty the Laws allow them of going abroad? How many of them reside in their own Diocese? Have not all of them (three or four excepted) stately Houses in *Dublin*, where they live in Grandeur? How many of them go above once in a Year into the Country? And do they stay longer there than just to hold a Visitation and complete their own private Affairs? How long is it since they brought a Bill into Parliament to set Leases of their Mensal Lands, which may hereafter be an Excuse to their Successors for not living in the Country, and to have a specious Pretence for residing in *Dublin*, or elsewhere, according to their own Inclinations? And did not that extraordinary Bill pass in the House of Commons, the last Day of that Session, the Lord Lieutenant then sitting in the House of Peers, whereby the Commons had not Time nor Opportunity to examine into the Merits of it?

The Author continues his satirical Vein, and adds, that *they [the Bishops] will hereafter* (i. e. after they have resigned their troublesome Offices of Greatness) *place their true Dignity in adorning the Doctrines of the Gospel, by the influence of their Example and Preaching*. And might he not have added, their Mitigation of the large Fines imposed and raised on Church Lands, to that extravagant Height, that

no honest industrious Man can live upon them ; as may be seen daily by the Dilapidations and ruinous Condition of the Church Lands in *Ireland*. It were to be wished, that the Clergy, especially those of the dignify'd Order, would have some Regard to their own real Interest and Dignity, whatever they have for Religion. For, if they go on, is it not probable that the Laity may be provok'd to hate and despise them, especially when all Dependency and Connection betwixt them and Gentlemen of Fortune shall be taken away ? In which Case, have they no Reason to apprehend that they may be voted *useless*, as they were in the Long Parliament ; and should the like Event again happen, they may be assured that the common People would heartily concur in it.

But whatever Difficulties may occur in the Execution of this Plan, he says, we should not be discouraged from attempting it, when we consider *in how short a Time the Union with Scotland was brought to Perfection*. But he should have told us the Obstacles it met with, how hardly it was digested, how obstinately and pertinaciously opposed by a very considerable Part of that Nation, and with what Difficulty it was at last accomplished ; to which he might have added the Benefits which *Scotland* has since reap'd from that Union : A just and impartial History of all which would have given the *Irish* some useful Hints and Intimations for the Instruction of their Managers, when this proposed Plan of an Union between the Two Nations shall come to be properly debated. In the mean Time, give me Leave to observe, that *Scotland* is a Part of the same Island, and that the Expences of the Members in coming to Parliament are no more than of travelling from one Part of the Country to another ; they have no Seas to cross ; nor need they bring their Families along with them. But the *Irish* Members must run the Hazards and Fatigues of a Voyage by Sea, and bring their Families with them too, or never see them for Seven Years together, unless at the End of every Session they will voyage it over to *Ireland* and back again at the next Meeting of the Parliament. The People of *Scotland* can easily make known their Grievances, and wait on the Parliament for Redress ; but the People of *Ireland* would be quite debarr'd of such personal Application. But what would become of them if their Grievances should arise from their Representatives themselves, and those very PATRIOTS whom they trusted with their Liberties, Privileges and Pro-

perties? Would it not be deemed a Crime almost equal to High Treason, to complain of them? Especially if they should have the Countenance of the Ministers, which there is no great Doubt but they would soon obtain.

He confesses indeed, there will be many Difficulties that will attend the Execution of this Scheme; some of which he has mentioned; but there are many others which I suppose he did not think of, or at least was not willing to load his Project with a Burden, which not all the Strength of *Great Britain* should be able to remove. I would therefore ask him, Who are to be appointed our Judges? Who are to fill the Places, Civil, Military, and Ecclesiastical, in *Ireland*? From whence shall they come? How many Natives are to share in the honourable Employments of that Kingdom, both in Church and State? Have we not now (what they call) an Establishment? Is not that Establishment constituted by Acts of Parliament, both *English* and *Irish*? Are there no Attempts to set this aside? Is it not well known that the REVOLUTION of *Eighty-eight* settled the Constitution both of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*? And in particular that the Military Constitution of the Latter was fixed by an *English* Act of Parliament in the 10th of King *William's* Reign, which limited the Army in *Ireland* to 12,000 Men?* If so, ought not the People and Parliament of *Ireland* to oppose the quartering the Regiments upon them, which have been sent over there since the last Peace? How will they be maintain'd? The Nation is already in Debt; and what with Pensions, Augmentations to Officers in Employment, &c. it can hardly maintain its Civil and Military Establishment, and support the Dignity and State of its Viceroy, and those they bring over with them.

If we are to have no more Parliaments in *Ireland*, what Power, but a Military, can keep all Degrees of Officers under the Crown, within the Bounds of their Duty? To whom must the People apply for Redress, when aggrieved? Must they come to *England*, or apply to those individual Persons who oppress and tyrannize over them; or to the Lieutenant General of the new additional Regiments lately sent over there, contrary to the Tenor, and the Laws of that once happy Establishment?†

It

* See the Act of Parliament at large, as also the Proclamation pursuant to that Act.

† It is to be hop'd the present Parliament now Sitting in *Ireland*, will

It is a Maxim generally received, that Kings have not Ears ; that is, that they can hear nothing but by their Ministers : But Parliaments have made them all hear, and feel too. This Maxim, however, is not applicable to good Princes, whose Ears are always open to the meanest as well as the greatest of their Subjects. But how will the Wrongs and Injuries done the good People of *Ireland*, reach his Majesty's Ear, when not only the usual Avenues to it are stopt, but they have likewise lost their constant and certain Resource upon all Emergencies, that is, their Parliament, which never fail'd to do Justice both to the Injurious and the Injured ? Let not *Ireland* therefore part with her Parliament, nor renounce or slightly give up those glorious Privileges which distinguish her as a Free Kingdom.

But let us return to our Author's Scheme, which, he says, *there never was, there probably never will be a Time more proper for executing than the present.* As for the propriety of the Time for putting this Scheme in Execution, he should have shewn a little more of his Modesty than to limit his Majesty to this, or, indeed, to prescribe to him any Time at all. It's highly probable, that the King will think no Time proper to give up a Kingdom, now represented by its own Parliaments, to blend its Interests with another Kingdom more powerful than herself, and thereby put it out of his Power to protect *Ireland*, and keep her dependant on the Crown, as now it is ; at least it will lessen the Extent of the Royal Prerogative ; which at present has the Power of giving the Royal Assent to all Laws made there, or reject them, as He, in Council shall think reasonable or proper. The Royal Dignity and Authority are now maintained there by his Majesty's Lord Lieutenant, by whom it's presum'd, He is inform'd of all Things that concern the Welfare of his good Subjects there, without intermixing their Affairs with the other Branches of his extensive Monarchy. And the People of *Ireland* have it likewise in their power, by an easy short Method, to lay all their Grievances before his Majesty by Way of Address in Parliament, or otherwise, as hath been before shewn.

Ireland, as it is now circumstanced, is one of the most valuable Jewels, belonging to the Crown of *England* ; and there-

will address his Majesty upon this Subject, and also let his Vice-Roy know the Act of Parliament, which, perhaps, he is a Stranger to.

therefore it is hoped his Majesty will not be prevail'd upon, by the specious Pretences of artful and designing Men, to part with it upon the delusive Views that are offer'd by this destructive Plan of an Union; since such a Measure will greatly weaken one of the main Props of the Crown, and, also, be the utter Ruin of *Ireland*, as it will absolutely destroy a brave, loyal and Protestant People, render the Laws of that Kingdom useleſs, and unhinge an excellent Constitution, and thereby disable *Ireland* from supporting and preserving the Protestant Religion, her People's Properties, Liberties and Laws, and of assisting his Majesty and his Royal Family in every Emergence of State, as they have hitherly done with all Clearfulness and Alacrity.

We agree with this Writer, that his Majesty is equally the Father of all his People, and equally concern'd for their common Happiness; notwithstanding which we cannot promise ourselves any good Effects of this great Affair, but have all the Reason in the World to dread the most fatal Consequences. *Ireland*, instead of being respected and caressed for the Trade she has, and the Industry of her People, will be look'd upon with Contempt, and become the Subject of Pity and Commiseration of all the Nations round; and she will find herself in a Condition infinitely worse than ever she knew yet, even in the worst of Times. The Protestants will all quit her; for the Papists, when no longer awed by the Authority of Parliament, will soon appear in their old Colours; and when all the principal Gentlemen, and Men of Substance, are gone to *England*, where no doubt they will make their Abode, *Ireland* will be like a wild Desart, inhabited by Beasts of Prey, and where no honest Man will care to venture himself; and instead of being a flourishing Kingdom, govern'd by her own Laws, will see herself in a more miserable State than the poorest Colony in all *America*.

His last Paragraph is no more than a fulsome Panegyrick on the wonderful Talents of our Ministers; and to heighten the Colours of the Portrait he has drawn of them, tells us, *the present Scheme is truly worthy their Abilities*. But is he sure they will undertake this arduous Task? He does not say they will; neither has he given us any Intimation, that they will countenance his pragmatalical Proposal; so that it seems a mere Whim of his own maggoty Brain. For we have a better Opinion of our present Ministers,

nisters, than to suppose they will promote a Scheme so evidently destructive to more than a Million of his Majesty's most loyal and dutiful Subjects; occasion a Loss to his Majesty, for which no Equivalent can be given, and such a Destruction to that Country, as will not be in the Power of *Great Britain* to repair by any future Favours and Indulgencies; it will be, in short, such a Complication of Wickedness, Weakness, and bad Policy, as will transmit the Names and Memories of those who shall have a Hand in bringing it to pass, with Infamy, to latest posterity.

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